

OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ALBANY
An Humble
REPRESENTATION

From His Excellencie

Sir Thomas Fairfax,

AND

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The COUNCEL of the ARMYE;

CONCERNING

Their past endeavours, and now finall desires
for the puting of the Souldiery into constant Pay.

For the immediate disburthening the Kingdom of free
Quarter, the prevention of any further increase of Arrears,
and in order to the better disbanding of Superan-
meraries, and other things concerning
the Souldiery.

*Humbly presented to the Right Honourable the Houses of Parlia-
ment, by Colonell Sir Hardresse Waller, and Colonell Whaley,
Decemb. 7. 1647.*

By the Appointment of His Excellencie Sir Thomas Fairfax,
and the Councell of the Army. Signed

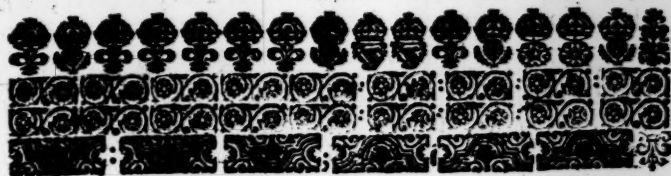
JO. R. SHWORTH, Secr.

Decemb. 7. *Impressatur*

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An Humble
REPRESENTATION
 FROM
His Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax,
 and the Councell of the
Army.

Since, by the blessing of God, the Speakers and Members of both Houses (that had been driven away) were without blood restored, and have been ever since secured to sit and attend their duty in Parliament, with what patience God hath given us to wait for the resolutions of these things we have insisted on or offered, tending to the future security of the Parliament, the just satisfaction of the Souldiery, and the ease and settlement of the Kingdom, we need not use many words to set forth; the expence of above 4. moneths time, in quiet expectation thereof, with so little satisfaction does sufficiently speak.

As to what fruit we have found, in any thing done to any of those

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those ends, we are sorry we can say so little thereof, or that we have occasion to say so much to the delayes, neglects, and obstructions thereto, as now we are constrained to do.

But what ever those delayes or neglects have been, or where ever the fault hath been, we are sure the blame thereof hath been laid upon us, almost on all hands, and this is the fruit we have found from the hands of men, of all our patient waiting hitherto.

It is not unkown what reproaches and scandalles in this kind have been cast upon us, and what use and advantage hath been made of those delayes, thereby to work up in the impatience of the Souldiers, and Countrey, to incite the Countrey against the Army, and both the Countrey and Army against us, as if it had been our fault alone, that no more was done. And to what an height of scandal and discontent against us, the pretence hereof was driven, or what desperate endeavours have been thereupon, to winde away the Souldiers from the Officers (as having betrayed or failed and neglected both theirs and the Kingdomes interest) to divide and disunite the Army, and to engage both the Souldiery and many other well affected people (under the same notion and pretence) in wayes of distraction and confusion, and (as we accompted them) of most imminent dangers, both to the Parliament, City, and Kingdom, we need not now spend time to expresse; We believe all that wisht well to the publike were so deeply sensible thereof, as they cannot so suddenly forget it, and others (who had any thing to lose or hazard) though perhaps so farre as they had hopes, the Army might that way have destroyed it selfe, they might have some secret joycing at it, and may now be sorry the businesse is so well over without that offer, yea, so farre as they considered the bottomlesse depth and endless danger of it, they could not but be affected with it, so as we need not mention it save to mind men of what danger and mischief God hath therein delivered them from, and whence the greatest advantage to the rise and growth of it, was (even from delayes and slow proceedings in those things which the long

long expectations of the Souldiery and Kingdom have been set upon, and to observe how apt both the Souldiery and people through tedious delays in such cases, are to hearken to any party, and try any new way propos'd (under the notion of more speed) and effectually, though perhaps so farre from real remedy as that it indeed endangers the utter losse of their end, with ruine and destruction to both.

To prevent the poggresse of this growing danger to all, we have lately exposed our selves to the utmost hazard, and being act'd therein from some clarrif in our Conscience, that the fault of those delays lay not upon us [as was frantically suggested] and a confidence in God that he would appear, to vindicate that in a sure of truth and integrity, he had given us in the thing, though with many failings and miscarriages on our part, we were led forth by him, without any Artifice, whereby to vindicate or excuse our selves, nakedly to cast our selves, and the business upon him, and to his praise we must speake; he hath appeared in an answerable issue; where of the Parliament and Kingdom hath had an account, and wherein they may see, and we wish they may with us take notice and be mindfull of, the mercy and goodness of God in our deliverance more added to all the rest, and therein the Army, which in casting of all bands of order and government, was like to have been let loose to be a plague and bane both to the Kingdom and it selfe, once more reduced unto that temper and discipline which may render it, through and under God, a further security and stay to the Kingdom, and in due time bring it to a quiet disbanding, when just satisfaction, with settlement and safety, shall admit.

But [as hath in part been done already] we must again mind the Parliament upon what termes this hath been wrought, the Generall [as we all wit and under him] stands engaged to the Army, for the lawfull prosecution of the Souldiers Concernments and some Generall fundamentall things for the Kingdoms and (in confidence of the Parliament good acceptance of the service

vice thereby done, and of there reall intention and promised effectuall resolution, to give satisfaction in those things) hath in a manner undertaken for the Parliament therein.

We wish we may see a cause to acknowledge a just sence of his Excellencies good affection, & service in that busines, or at least of their owne engagement, or the Kingdoms concernment therein, and that we had not cause to apprehend either a strange neglect thereof growing upon many, or rather (in some) the sad symptoms of an evill eye, at the service it self, as if they did regret the happy composition of those distractions begun in the Army and the reuniting of it, or did grudge the good hand of God towards it, and the Kingdom therein, that in mercy would not suffer it to run on in these distracting and confounding wayes, (which it was endeavoured to be drawn into) both it and other forces of the Kingdom, were like ere this time to have been engaged in blood, one against another, or else united only in some desperate course of rending and tearing out the bowels and vitals of the Kingdom, and plucking up or endangering all foundations of order, peace and government therein (yea and of all right and property too) yet the envy and malignity of some mens spirits against this Army, and against the interests of good men therein, seems to be such, as if they had rather have seen it so, then that this Army should again be a united piece; and we clearly apprehend the same principles (that swaid heretofore) none again prevailing, as if there were no good so desirable or evill so formidable; which the breaking of this Army (with as much ignominy, and confusion as may be) would not, in their accompt, countervail; and if such an envious and evill spirit be indeed lodged and working in the hearts of any, we desire God in mercy to convince them of it, lest he confound them for it. For our parts having the witness of God in our consciences that though we are not without weak and frail workings of our fleshy hearts in all our ways yet for the main) we have in all our Engagements, from the beginning of the warre, had the work of God and the King-
dom

dem in our eye; and not our own, and that since the Army (by the oppressive provoking and spitefull proceedings of men acted by the aforesaid envious principles against it) was raised into such resolutions, and driven into such a posture as put it past the power of the Officer to bring it to a quiet disbanding, without further satisfaction and security; It hath been our main end in continuing with it and almost our whole work, to keep it within compasse and moderation, to withhold it from extremities of all sorts, and from that mischief to the Kingdom or it self, which our withdrawing and taking off our hands from the Government of it, would have let it loose unto, to make use of it and of the providence that brought it to that passe (if possible) to some good issue for the just liberty, safety and settlement of the Kingdom, and bring the Army to some bottom of seasonable satisfaction wherein it might acquiesce, and at last come to a quiet disbanding; and (in transaction of all this) with all tenderesse and patience to preserve [if possible] the authority and peace of the Kingdom, and prevent new Broyles, which severall parties and interests have been to apt unto.

Having, we say, the witness of these things within us, when, on the other side, we consider what unworthy requittalls for all this we meet with from the hands of men; how we are loaded with reproaches for it, and numbered the only disturbers of the Kingdom, & the Authors of its burthens, as if for private ends or designs we kept up the Army) & how generally most men [even of the Parliament party, for whose preservation and for prevention of whose ruine amongst others, we have exposed our selves to all hazards therein] do either from distaffiction or design to divide and break the Army, withhold or obstruct all supplies and satisfaction which might keep it in order, union or repose; We confesse, when we consider these things wee are ready to apprehend that God doth herein seem most justly to upbraid our care and sollicitousnesse, to preserve a people given up (as we begin to fear) to their own destruction, and which seem to clieve rather, than not to have

have their own factious interests or envy fulfilled, rather than to own their preservation, in the least degree; by those whom God hath appeared willing to ple for their preservation and deliverance.

And rather then we would further incur the odium and scandall of being the only publike disturbers and oppressors (so unworthily cast upon us meerly for our good-will, and endeavours to prevent greater mischiefs) we are apt to chuse rather to withdraw frō our present station (though with hazard of our personall safeties, and the esse not only of any imagined benefit of future employment, but even our arrestes, for what service we have done) and so leaving all to what ever confusion God in his righteous judgment may see good to bring upon the Nation, to cast our selves wholly upon him, to preserve and provide for us in the midst thereof, or if God in mercy send better things to the Kingdom, or hath found fault in us (which wee confesse he may) rendering us unworthy to be any further instruments thereof, we should desire, with meeknesse and rejoycing, to see any other whom he finds, or the Kingdom judgeth more worthy to take up our present charges: But finding not as yet any such clear discharge as would (to our apprehensions) fully acquit us before God or Man, to leave the Army or Kingdom in their present condition, we shal, in discharge of our duty to the utmost, add this one assay more to bring both into a better, if God in mercy see it good: We shall therefore once more begg the Parliament wisely to consider and provide effectually for these things exprest in the late Remonstrance published at the severall Rendezvous of the Army, upon his Excellencies continued conjunction, wherein the disorders in the Army were quieted, the distractions composed, and the due order and Discipline of it, recovered and submitted to.

And amongst these things, since the greatest and most immediate and pressing evil to the Souldiery is want of pay, and to the Countrey, the disorders, exactions, and abuses of the Souldiery, with the burthen & annoyances of

free quarter (thereby enforced) and which (if once provided for) gives time of consideration for other things, we shal first apply to that either to obtaine a present remedy, or at least, to acquit and discharge our selves in that point.

Of the many evils thereof both to the Souldiery and Country we have long beene sadly sensible, and many wayes and often expressed our sence thereof, but we have bin most troubled at it, since that necessity which heretofore inforced it, (*viz.* the straitnes of the Quarters the Parliament had to raise money in) was taken away, and all parts of the Kingdome have beene cleared from any enemy, and free for the equall levying of money to supply the necessities of the whole; and it seemes a matter of wonder to us, or an argument of great improvidence (at best) that since that time the Souldiery (though much lessened in number) should be no better paid or provided for then before; From the sence of these things we have made frequent addresses to the Parliament, for a sufficient establishment and provision of pay for the Army and other Forces of the Kingdome, untill they might (with safety to the Kingdome, and just satisfaction or security to themselves (in point of Arrears, Indemnity &c.) be disbanded or otherwise employed out of the Kingdome, We have long waited with patience as aforesaid, for some fruit of our addresses, at least, in this point: But what through the difficulty or delay of getting things past in Parliament to this purpose, or of putting in execution those Ordinances that have beene passed, and the neglect or slownesse of Country Committees, Assessors, or Collectors to do their duty therein, what through the Malignancy of some who (in designe to breake or distract the Army as aforesaid) for want of pay, and to disaffect the Country thereto by necessitated free quarter) doe industriously retard all supplies of money, and what through the Generall backwardnesse of all (especially in the City of *London*,) to part with it, we have yet found little fruit of all our addresses, and endeavours in this kind, there being not as yet an establishment of Contribution, for pay of the Souldiery, any whit neare proportionable to the numbers that are yet kept up, or any effectuall execution, of the powers already given for raising of the Taxes already charged upon the

Kingdome, so as we remaine yet, as farse as ever, from that supply of pay to the army, or other forces; whereby either the burthen and grievances of free quarter can be taken off, or the necessity of the Souldiery competently supplied, or their discontents in any measure removed, or disorder prevented, or good discipline preserved, and (which is most sad) in the Garrisons of the Kingdome (and those of most importance) where the Souldiery have not, nor can well have that benefit of Quarter for their subsistence (as the Army and field Forces have yet) they have very long bene without any supply of pay at all, so as divers poore Souldiers in some of them have actually starved, and died for want, in attendance upon their duties, others forced by extremitie of want to quit their service, and the rest ready to starve or quit the Garrisons to any that will possesse them; And as it is most apparant, that the present proportion of Tax (if duly levied) could not competently supply them, and others too (in an equall distribution thereof, considering the number that are yet in being) so the Committees in many Countries (where such Garrisons are, that have engaged with the Army) doe refuse to levie those small proportions of money, that have been assigned for the present reliefe to such Garrisons, but are content to see the aforesaid miseries of the Souldierie, and danger to the Garrisons, rather then doe their parts, to give the least remedie to either, divers of them telling the Souldiers plainly (as wee are informed) that if they had declared against the Army, they should not have wanted, but having engaged with it, they must expect neither quarter nor pay, but what they get from the Army.

If we or this poore Army have deserved such hatred and despite, (especially from pretending friends to the Parliament, and the Kingdomes interest) we would faine be plainly told and convinc'd wherein, otherwise wee cannot but account it most unchristian and inhumane dealing, and such as can have no better root, then most envious faction, void of all regard to publike Interest; and wee would have all such know, that if we had borne the same mind, or could have allowed our selves by power to put ne the ruine of adverse parties by indirect or unchristian wayes, or otherwise to

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set up a party of our owne, and suppress all others, or if wee had
 not still (according to our first principles) loved much more the
 wayes of Common right and freedome, and the proceeding in all
 such things by Parliament in order thereunto, or if wee had not
 in the way of ordering our affaires since the Armes ingagement,
 consulted more the preserving of Peace in the Kingdome, and to
 prevent the rise of any new warre, then our owne advantage or
 security, wee could (to speake as men with the power and advan-
 tages God hath put into our hands) long ere this time (as yet also
 wee might) have put the Army, and all other Forces engaged with
 it into such a Posture, as to have assured themselves of pay, while
 continued, and probably to have made our opposers in the King-
 dome and City too, willing to have followed us with offers of sa-
 tisfaction, as to Arrears; and other dues that concerne the Sould-
 ery; or wee could have told how to prosecute those advantages
 wee have had to the suppression, if not destruction of adverse par-
 ties and interests, so as they should not (probably) have had those
 foundations or possibilities to grow up againe, to our further trou-
 ble or danger (as now they seeme to have;) And all this with
 reason and justice enough too, but that wee have studied the pre-
 servation, and good of all, without ruine or destruction to any, as
 farre as wee could, and have (through God) been acted therein,
 in some measure, with that mildnesse, moderation, patience, and
 love that becomes the name of Christ; And wee are yet confident,
 wee shall at last loose nothing by it; But (to returne to our pur-
 pose, as to the Inconveniencies and dangers of a new Provision for
 the Souldery in point of Pay, the Parliament hath had sufficient
 Cautions and warnings, especially in the late distractions; and
 though, while the danger thereof continued visible, it was largely
 professed (if that danger could be removed, and the Army redu-
 ced into order and discipline) we should have what provision wee
 would with reason in that point, and the same (with much more)
 upon the first hopes of overcoming that danger, was as largely
 promised; Yet now the danger is over, wee see little better care of
 performance then before, but after many dayes, since elapsed, and
 some spent in professed consideration of it, the whole care of that

businesse seems to be wrapt up in one Bare vote, viz. [that all supernumerary forces shall be disbanded.]

As to which matter of disbanding supernumeraries (so it bee with reasonable satisfaction in point of Arreates,) we are so farre from opposing, or obstructing it, that (for the speedy easing of the Kingdomes burthens by it) wee shall readily give all furtherance and assistance to it, and shall (by and by) offer that encouragement thereto, as will demonstrate the same, and on such termes wee should our selves most gladly bee of those supernumeraries that should come first to disbanding.

But, as to the thought of preient disbanding all supernumeraries (according to the Vote) first we cannot but wish it be considered, whether with any respect at all to the service, and reliefe of *Ireland*, the Parliament can well disband them all, unto which service (as there might have beene a great advancement of assistance long since, but for the prevalence of Faction and designe to breake that force that might have afforded it, as wee have formerly remonstrated) so we have more lately contributed our parts, in the offer and designation of a very considerable force thereunto, and there hath wanted nothing but resolution and money, with expedition to send them over, which was not within our power.

But if (with respect to that service and the safety of this Kingdom) the Parliament can yet lessen their forces so much, as to bring them neere the compasse of sixty thousand pounds a moneths pay, yet, wee wish it be withall, considered how many those supernumeraries are, that must so come to bee presently disbanded (which, to bring the residue within that compasse, would bee little lesse then twenty thousand of one sort or other) and (if so) how great a summe it would require, to give any reasonable satisfaction to so many in point of Arreates in hand ; And (by the hardnesse of getting so much money as to piece up the moneths pay to the Army) wee have much reason to doubt how long the Parliament will be in raising such a summe together, or where they will suddenly find money, to give competent satisfaction to the proportion but of a Regiment or two upon a present disbanding, and unlesse they be provided with present money, to give reasonable satisfaction

faction to so many at once, as would to that end come to be disbanded, the Parliament must either turn them off presently with extreame dissatisfaction and disobligation (which would render them apt to rise again with any party against the Parliament who would give them hope of better dealing, or but of revenge) or else must continue them untill better provided.

And though there were money ready for a competent part of arrears in hand, yet it will be necessary however that they be continued some time for the stating of their accounts and giving debentures for the remainder, for (besides the injustice and dissatisfaction of turning the Souldiers off without that) we presume the Parliament hath had too much experience already of the bottomlesse ill consequences of not ascertaining their accounts and arrears before disbanding, and not keeping the same registred together, by the endless clamours and outcries of particular persons for arrears, and the vast summes expended thereupon without end of satisfaction (the persons or their state of arrears through neglect of taking such accounts before disbanding) having never been certainly known, nor any end either of their number or claims) and the dispatch of such accounts, for those that remaine, before disbanding, will certainly take up some time (we doubt) some moneths; now, if thus any part of the supernumeraries (above what the sixty thousand pounds a moneth will pay) shall either for the time of stating their accounts or longer (for want of present money to disband withall) be continued, both they and all other Souldiers in the Kingdome must so long remaine without constant pay, and consequently go upon free quarter the while, unlesse the tax for their pay be (for the mean time) proportionably increased; for the sixty thousand pounds a moneth, not affording any assignement for such supernumeraries pay, those must of necessity go unpaid the while and consequently upon free quarter, and their going any where upon free quarter will hinder the coming in of the contribution of those parts which should be to pay some others, and so they likewise must go upon free quarter the while, which will in like manner hinder the pay and necessitate the like free quartering of others, so as all will that while be equally hindered of constant pay, and forced to take free quarter still; but (besides these aforementioned certain and visible occasions of delays to the present effect of the vote for disbanding all supernu-

meraries (we doubt it will find many other difficulties and obstructions to the speedy and effectuall dispatch thereof, and prove not so easie or so well executed as ~~was~~; to wit, though we wish that businesse of disbanding supernumeraries, put into a way of a speedy execution as may be, yet upon all these considerations we cannot imagine that vote to be absolute and soveraigne, nor so speedy or timely a Cure of the Souldiers wants, and discontents, or the Countries grievance in their free quarter, as the nature of the maladie and temper of the Patient requires; Wee shall therefore offer our finall advice for some other: First setting downe the particulars, and then shewing the efficacy and benefit thereof; The particulars (which we have in part heretofore propounded to the Parliament) are these;

1 That the Parliament do forthwith enlarge their monthly contribution for five or six Moneths, to the full proportion of the pay of all the Forces now in being within this Kingdome (or at least of so many of them as they are not provided with present money to disband) and to a considerable proportion (viz. about ten thousand pounds a Moneth) over; which (by a mere estimate) we conceive would well be by the addition of forty thousand pounds per mensem to the present sixty thousand pounds, and with lesse we believe it cannot be; And the same Committees to be appointed and to have the same power for the levying of this as for the former sixty thousand pounds, and the same penalties for neglects or defaults therein, as for the Arreares of former taxes to the Army, and for more speedy passing of this unless some visible inequality in the rates of Countries could be readily rectified without delay to the passing of it, we wish it might, (being but for that short space) passe according to the same rates as the sixty thousand pounds; and for the Kingdomes better satisfaction herein it may be Resolved and Declared.

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That upon this enlargement and the effectuall Levying of it in the respective Counties, no free quarter at all shall (from within a month at most after passing the Ordinance) be taken in any County or place where it shall be duly Levied and paid.

2 That

That it is intended this enlargement of tax shall not be continued beyond the space of the months limited, and that in the meane time, as the Parliament can find money, and safety to disband and lessen their forces, so (if that lessening be considerable) they will by degrees lessen the said tax proportionably.

2 We desire that for the more sure and effectuall Leauying of the whole tax, the Generall and Committee of the army, or one of them may have power (in case of any County Committees neglect or failing therein) to add new men to any the respective Committees who (thereupon) to haue the same power as the Committees named in the Ordinance haue.

3. That for more sure and ready payment of the Souldiery out of this, the forces which cannot, or are not provided for to be forthwith disbanded, may be immediately assigned to severall Counties or Associations of Counties, out of whose taxes they shall be paid, and that the Generall may have power accordingly to make such distribution & assignments giving notice and accompt thereof to the Committee of the Army, and they thereupon to take order for the payment of the forces so assigned, immediately out of the Counties or Associations to which they are Assigned, and that the payment be made according to due Musters and according to the last establishment (as to the rate of each officers pay) and the surplisage of any Counties Taxes above the due pay of their Forces so assigned to be paid out of them, to be (at the care and oversight of the same Committee for the Army) called for and paid into the Common Treasury, for such Generall vses as shall be found necessary relating to the forces and service within this Kingdom, by warrant from the
Generall

Generall or Committee for the Army according to the usual course of limitations heretofore; and the remainder or surpluse of the said Taxes of the whole Kingdome (above the uses aforesaid) to be for the supply and reliefe of the forces already in *Ireland*, or other publique uses as the Parliament shall thinke fit; And the same Committee likewise, with the Treasurers, to take care for the methodizing, and ballancing of the whole accompts, and to have power for the imploying of Officers needfull for the dispatch and accommodation of this service, and to make allowance of salaries to them, (within some reasonable limitation) particularly that there be allowances for so many Deputy Commissaries of Musters as upon the practick of this distribution, the Generall and Committee shall find needfull; And the Treasurers Generall out of their salary (in regard of this accession to it) to maintaine so many Deputy Treasurers as the Generall and Committee of the Army shall find needfull to be imployed, and reside in such severall parts of the Kingdom as the Generall shall find convenient for that service.

4. That the security for arreares being settled as hath been already and is againe hereafter propounded, the Parliament would speedily send downe Commissioners to the Army, and appoint the like for other forces of the Kingdome, to state accompts and give debenturs, whereby the Souldier may before disbanding, have his arreares ascertain'd to him, as a cleere debt to be paid him out of that security; And that one Office or Registry may be appointed into which all accompts so taken may be returned, and all the arreares Registered to be paid in order, as is hereafter exprest, and for this office we offer that two Registers, with four Clarkes may be
allowed

allowed to have reasonable Salaries out of the Revenue issuing out of the said security, and this we desire may be hastened for the speedier preparation to the worke of disbanding; that such as are to be disbanded may be ready for it, by that time the Parliament can provide money where-with to disband any of them, and that so by disbanding the supernumeraries as fast as may be, way may be made for the speedier lessening and taking off the Taxes by degrees.

Now, for the advantage and benefit of the things here propounded, they will appeare as followeth, *viz.* Whereas upon the former supposition (that the putting off the Soldiery that are to be continued into a way of constant pay, do depend only upon the disbanding of all supernumeraries, whom the present Tax will not extend to pay) Its most evident (as before demonstrated) that none can be put into present pay, but all must goe on upon free quarter, so long as untill every one of the said supernumeraries be disbanded (which what ever may be imagined) though no other difficulties or obstructions should happen then what are now visible, as before mentioned, would not be effected, nor (we doubt) provided for in three or foure moneths time, wee wish it prove so soon: but we much feare interruptions, or delays, will happen to make it much longer, and all that while (free quarter continuing as before) the burthen thereof (besides the annoyances) though it fall more lightly upon some parts and heavier upon others, yet in the whole it damnifies the Kingdom as much as the said increased contributions come to. The Soldiers also must have (besides his quarters) some pay in hand the mean while (otherwise he can neither subsist nor be kept in order) yet still he accounts (at least) half of his pay for the remaining time, in arrear to him, so as that further debt doth also grow upon the Kingdoms score; Now contrary-wise (the things we have propounded being granted) that bare contribution answers all; for we dare under take, within a fortnight after granting of them, all the forces of the Kingdom shall be assigned where, & how to receive their pay constantly, till disbanded; & so no more free quarter shal henceforth be taken, no part of the Kingdom any more unequally oppressed thereby, nor any further debt of arrears hence forth incurred upon the Kingdom, and the

worke of disbanding supernumeraries not at all hindred, but much facilitated thereby, and as the Parliament findes money and safety to disband any of them, they may by the same degrees either lessen the taxe proportionably, or will have so much more surplufage thence from, towards reliefe of *Ireland*, or towards disbanding of others, or any other publique uses.

And now for furtherance and encouragement in the matter of disbanding (those things afore mentioned being granted) wee shall (for the Armie and other Forces engaged with it) offer and agree to these rules following,

1. That such of the said forces as shall come to be disbanded as supernumeraries, shall (out of the moneys to be raised upon the security for Arreares) have the full moiety of their arreares first made good to them, as moneyes come in hereupon, before those which fall out to be continued shall receive any part of theirs, and after that (when those that continue, shall have received the like proportion of theirs then) these that shal be disbanded to receive the other moiety or full remainder of their Arreares, before these that continue any more.
2. That those of them which shall disband, shall (as moneyes come in upon the said security) receive their proportions of Arreares in the same order and course as they disband, (of which order and course a remembrance to bee entered and kept in the afore-said Registry of these accompts) the persons of the Regiment, Troope, or Company first disbanding, and so the rest in course, to receive first what was due to them at disbanding (to make up their first moiety) by two equall portions, and likewise to receive their second moiety at twice, by equall portions, in the same course as they disband.

Now for our desire in the first proposition afore-going, (to have the increase of Contribution extended to the proportion of ten thousand pounds a moneth (by estimate) over & above
what

what we thinke the just pay for the Souldiery now in being in the Kingdome, and not ready for present disbanding will come to : the reason is, partly, that there may bee (certaine) some present supply out of it for the Force in *Ireland*, and partly because, if the contribution should be set scant of, or but just answerable to the pay of the Souldiery, the many Contingences and necessary Charges (not to be fore-seen, and the probable failings of full levying the Contribution in some parts, would necessitate the going of some upon free Quarter, (which would disturb the order, and constant pay of the whole) and it would also require much time to proportion the Forces, to be assigned upon the severall Counties exactly to the contributions of them, which would make it long e're free Quarters could be taken off, since none could be assigned where to be paid, untill the pay of each part of the Souldiery were exactly computed, and all of them as exactly distributed according to each Counties tax;) Whereas the taxes being laid to a sufficient proportion above the just pay, we can immediately make distributions and Assignments lye estimate, so as to be sure the taxes of each County exceed the pay of the souldiers assigned to it, and though so, one County have more, and another fewer souldiers assigned to them then (upon an exact distribution according to the number and pay of the Souldiery) their just proportion would come to, yet none having so many, but that their taxes will do more then pay them, no part will beare above its due proportion of charge, and those parts which have least numbers of Souldiers assigned upon them, yet will beare their due proportion of charge, either in pay to the Souldiers, or in the surplusage of their tax above it; which, being collected into the Common Treasury, will be for reliefe to *Ireland*, or other publique uses, so as the surplusage (either in particular Counties above their particular Assignments, or of the whole Kingdomes taxes, above the pay of the whole Souldiery in it) will bee no losse; but (as to some present and certaine reliefe for *Ireland* out of it, upon supposition of the hundred thousand pounds a moneth) wee shall (besides the surplusage of every Counties tax above the pay of the Souldiers to be assigned to it)

fore-cast in the Distributions and Assignments, to leaue the taxes of some Counties, (and that as many as may be) to come intirely into the common Treasury for the reliefe of *Ireland*, without assaying any of the Forces in *England* to bee paid out of them.

And for that power desired for making such Distributions and Assignments, the advantages and benefits of that way of Reparticion (as to the more sure and ready payment of Souldiers) are sufficiently knowne and tryed : and it is most evident, that without it, (if no Souldiers be paid before the moneyes be first Collected in the severall Counties, and then sent into the Common Treasury for all the Kingdome, and then sent to the Head-Quarters, or thence distributed to the severall Forces within the Kingdome, it is in vaine to think that the Souldiers can be supplied with money afore-hand, or timely enough to make him pay Quarters, and 'tis as good (almost) not at all, as not in time.

Wee have thus propounded a way whereby all the Souldier of the Kingdome may bee instantly put in a condition of constant pay (while continued) and thereby bee kept in order and discipline, all free quarter (with the abuses, exactions, annoyances, and unequall pressures that accompany it) immediately taken off, no further debt of Arreares incurred upon the Kingdome, and that which is already incurred, put in a way to bee recovered and overcome in time, and whereby the supernumerary forces may shortly be disbanded by degrees (as the Parliament can finde money to doe it) and will bee satisfiable to disband, with lesse money in hand, without danger of dis-obligation therein, and whereby also the additionall charge (now propounded) with other burthens of the Kingdome may by the same degrees be lessened and eased with safety and satisfaction, untill all can bee taken off.

And as it is evident, that if such a course as this had been taken

taken sooner, and the Parliament (as they found the severall parts of the Kingdome cleared from the enemy, and eased of the oppressions they suffered under them) had by degrees extended an equall contribution over all parts in a proportion sufficient to have payed all their forces (while they continued them) the Kingdome had been eased of free quarter, and no further debt of arreares to the Soldiery incurred upon it, for (at least) a yeare and halfe agoe, those that have been disbanded had not been put off with so much disobligation (as some have been) nor had their claimes and endlesse demands since brought such troubles upon, or drawne such vast arrears from the Parliament and Kingdome, and those that now remaine to be disbanded had been much easier satisfyable and more readily disbanded; So if such a course (as is here propounded) be not speedily taken, but the putting off the Soldiery into a way of pay be left to depend only, upon the disbanding of all supernumeraries (and that so unprovided for) or so uncertainly and slowly provided for, and proceeded in (as without this course) it is like to be) it is most evident (besides unforeseen dangers of discontent both in the Soldiery and Country of difficulties to disband, or interruptions and dissatisfactions in it) that the non-disbanding of some will so long occasion the non-payment of all, and continue free quarter, with the inconveniences thereof upon all, and the non-payment of all may hinder the disbanding of any, and so both debts and discontents grow upon the Soldiery and Kingdome, (perhaps) till it passe the power either of the Generall and Officers, to compose the one, or the Parliament and Kingdome to satisfy the other.

Having therefore thus sufficiently discharged our selves in this point, so as we shall (we hope) stand acquitted before God and men from whatever evils ensue upon any further neglect thereof; We must now declare, That we find the just expectations of the Army herein (especially since the Generalls late Engagement or undertakings at the Rendezvous) are so great and earnest, the clamours & outcries to us from other forces, & Garri-
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sons of the Kingdome engaged with the Army (for their extreame necessity, and our apprehended neglect of equall provision for them) are so sad and pressing, the discontents of the Country (from the oppressions of tree quarter) are so full and yet growing, and almost desperate, and the distempers distractions, and dangers threatened by all these are so vast and eminent, as wee can no longer stand under the burthen or blame of them. But if the things here before propounded be not granted and passed effectually (or a certaine course settled according to the effect of them) by the end of this present week; Wee can no longer give account of the Army or other forces in a regular way; but unlesse wee find satisfaction in our judgements, to take some extraordinary wayes of power; We must let the Soldiery and Kingdome know, that we cannot satisfie their just expectation, and thereupon desire that the charge of the Soldiery may be transmitted to others; If the Parliament shall approve, and passe what we have here propounded, we must (for the better prosecution and effecting thereof) add, that the superlative backwardnesse and obstinacy, or disaffection rather of those within the City, who have thus long with-held their arrears of Taxes, (so long since due to the Army) may not escape either with victory therein, or without exemplary suffering (at least) by strict and speedy levying as well the penalties, as the arrears themselves, and (for that purpose) that the Parliament would reassume the consideration of the Generalls late Letters about that business, to the Committee of the Army, and reveiw that to the Lord Major and common Councell, wherein the ill consequences both of the wilfull neglect of the thing, and of the Armies withdrawing to a further distance before it be done, or of its continuing longer hereabouts, in the delatory (and perhaps) fruitlesse expectation thereof from the Cities own actions therein may sufficiently appeare.

To which we adde, that till it be done effectually (and sharply to some) the distribution of the forces to severall Committees to be paid (according to what is before propounded) can neither be effectually nor safe; And we must therefore desire
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that unless it be thought fit, that the whole Kingdome should groane still under the oppressions of free quarter, and these adjacent Counties be undone chiefly while those of the City (that occasion al) sit free from any tast of it, there may be no longer stop to the drawing in of the Army, or a considerable part of it to quarter upon them in the City (who had not paid before the said letters, untill they shal have paid both the Arrears and full penalties; And though our tenderness of that Cities safety & welfare, and our cleareness from the least thought of evil towards it, or any base designe to make the least advantage to our selves, or the army by it hath sufficiently appeared, as in al our former demeanments, so in our carriage of the business upon our late advance towards it (notwithstanding the just occasions, & great provocations thence so newly given) as also in our innocent march through it, and quiet and patient waiting about it for those long-due Arrears, without quartering any Souldiers in it; Yet now, in Justice, we cannot but desire that, (besides the levying of the Arrears at last (for which wee have been put to stay so long) there may now likewise some reparation be thought on from the City to the parts adjacent for above one hundred thousand pounds damage sustained through the Armies attendance here on the Cities defaults and delays; which reparation, we (if necessitated thereto, or called upon by the Countrey) must in their behalfe demand from the City to the full; and now also (the rather in order to that) we must earnestly desire that the proceedings against those Citizens and others lately impeacht may be hastned, and out of their fines or confiscations, some part of reparation may be made to the Counties adjacent for the aforesaid damages which the crimes of those persons and others in the City did first bring upon them; And indeed, without something done against those persons, for example to others, before the Armies with drawing, weedoe not see (when it shall withdraw)

draw) with what safety or freedom the Parliament can sit longer at Westminster , especially when wee finde the Common Conncell (through the Parliaments and Armies lenity) to take the boldnesse already (in the face of both) to intercede for the release and acquittall (or rather justification) of those impeached persons , (who indeed are but fellow-delionuents (wee doubt) to most of that Councell) as if that so actually , immediately , and horrid a force upon both and the whole Houses of Parliament , and the levying of Warre in abettment and prosecution thereof , and of that concurrent Treasonable engagement , were already forgotten by them to have bene any crime ; the consideration whereof , and of the renewed confidence of Master *Gewen* and some other Members of Parliament , (knowne to have bene partakers , if not principals in the same things) who yet presume , and are suffered to appeare againe in the House (as if in those things there had not been so much fault , as to render them lesse worthy of continuing in that highest trust) makes us begin to fear , that , while so much of the same leaven (through lenity and moderation) is left behinde , it may shortly spread , til even the worst of the eleven Members (notwithstanding their doubled crimes) be againe called for in , unlesse the House (by some exclusive resolutions and proceedings) do timely prevent the same ; Wee hope therefore the Parl. will weigh these things , and speedily (ere it be too late) consult (at least) their own safety and the Kingdoms , if not ours and the Armies , their poore servants , and something concerned with them (especially) in that affaire.

Next , we again more importunately desire , that those other so neare concernments of the Souldiery (exprest in the Generalls late Remonstrance at the Rendezvouz) may be speedily considered , and fully & effectually provided for ; In order to which wee shall here more particularly propound as followeth.

First, as to the security for Arrears, whereas (in the late Votes or Proposition intended for that purpose) the two thirds of the Lands or Compositions of certain Delinquents assigned towards the said Security, is onely of the Delinquents within the three first Qualifications of the 16th Proposition; We desire that may be altered so, as to be two Thirds of the Lands or Compositions of all the Delinquents that have not yet compounded. And next we must desire, that Deans and Chapters Lands may be added (with Proviso for reasonable satisfaction or maintenance to such persons, as, having a present lawfull Interest in any the Revenues thereunto belonging, have not forfeited the same by Delinquencie). These Additions are desired, because the Security as yet Voted is justly estimated not to be sufficient, and since all that is propounded is but for Security, if the Security prove to exceed the Arrears really due, the surpluse will be free for any other publick use, so as the State will not be damaged by these Additions to the Security. Lastly, (as to this businesse) we desire, that the matters of Security (being resolved on as desired) may be past into Ordinance, and thereby put into a speedie and effectually way of raising Moneys thereupon.

Secondly, for matter of Indemnity, that if no Indemnity more absolute can be provided, (to free the Souldiery from all question for things done in the War) but that they must (in case of question at Law) sue to some Committee or Commissioners for relief; It may be provided for the ease of all, that (either under the Grand Committee for Indemnity, or otherwise by the immediate appointment of Parliament) there may be Commissioners in each County impowered to give relief in such Cases; as the Grand Committee now are. And those Commissioners to be such as ordinarily reside in the respective Counties, and mixt of such as have been Military Officers to the Parliament, together with such Inhabitants as have appeared active and faithfull for the Parliament in the late War; for which purpose we shall (if admitted) offer names; and that there may be a severe Penalty

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layed upon Judges, or other Officers of Justice, in case they shall proceed against any contrary to the Ordinance for Indemnity.

Thirdly, that sufficient Provision be made in a certain, and no dishonourable way, for the relief and support of maimed Souldiers, and the Widows and Orphans of men that dyed in the Service, to continue during the lives of the maimed, and widows, and during the minority of their Orphans; And that the same Commissioners (to be appointed in each County for Indemnity as aforesaid) or others in like manner mixt, may be impowered for this purpose also; And in case of the death of any such Commissioner, or their departure out of their respective Counties, those that survive, or remain, may choose new ones to fill up the number.

4. Thus for the just freedom of Apprentices, who have served the Parliament, there may be a sufficient penalty laid upon Masters refusing or delaying to give the same, when their times are out, accounting the time they have served in the war as part. And that the Apprentice may have his Action at law for that penalty.

5. For freedom from impressing, that (as no free-man of England, may be impressed for any foreign service, or other then for the immediate defence of it, so) no souldier that hath voluntarily served the Parliament in the late Warre, for the liberties of the Kingdom, may be liable to be prest, for any Military service at all: and that it may be promised, that a Certificate of his said service as a Volunter, under the hand and seale of his Collonel, or other Field Officer, under whom he hath served, may be a sufficient Protection and discharge to him, from any such impressing.

Having thus discharged our selves, in those matters which are our most proper, and immediate businessse (the concernments of the Souldiery) and for which we redouble our desires, that the two first (concerning the putting them into constant pay while continued, and Provision for their Arreares) may be first considered, and immediately settled before any other businessse, and then that the rest of them may

may also be provided for, as soon as may be. Now though the two first of these, want not their equal concernments to the Kingdom, (in the present taking of the oppression of free-quarter, preventing the increase of Arrears, and providing or preparing for the more easie and satisfactory disbanding of supernumeraries, and thereby the better easing of the Kingdoms burthens by degrees) Yet we cannot in any of our addresses of this kind, so far forget those things we have formerly declared concerning (more purely) the publick interest of the Kingdom and our selves, as members of it, but we must herewith renew our humble and earnest desires, that no time may be lost by the Parliament for the just consideration and dispatch of these things, both for the redresse of Common greivances, releife of the oppressed, and for the liberty, security, quiet and some safe settlements of the Kingdome; and more especially, that these things of this nature, express in the late Remonstrance at the Rendezvous, may in such settlement be fully and effectually provided for, (and that) with as much expedition as may be. And it is our hearts desire and hope, that herein the proceedings and resolutions of the Parliament may be such, and so timely, as that we may not need any more to remind the Parliament in any of those things which (as far as with truth or any safety to that most obliging interest of the publique, and to those that have engaged for it, we may forbear) we are most unwilling and take no pleasure to meddle in.

Windfor. 5. Decem.
1647.

By the appointment of his Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the Councell of the Army.

John Rushworth Secretary.

FINIS.